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the *sukiriktionó* would paint half their bodies white and the other half black.

SOCIAL CLASSES

In addition to the dual division, the Terena were separated into four social classes: (1) Chiefs (*unati*), (2) warriors (*shuna'asheti*), (3) commoners (*vaheresháne*), and (4) slaves (*kauti*). The chiefly class comprised the moiety chiefs and their relatives. The *unati* were the highest class in rank and were supposed to marry within their own group. As one could marry only within his own moiety this often meant village exogamy to members of this class. On coming of age the sons of the *unati* went through an elaborate puberty ceremony (*tima*) which amounted to initiation into the chiefly class. In historic times the principal part of the ceremony consisted in the boy approaching his father dressed in a light-red blanket which he would take off and substitute for the dark-red blanket worn by his father. Only the sons of the *unati* went through this ceremony. The daughters of the chiefs also went through a puberty ceremony (*iyoti*) much more elaborate than the puberty ceremony of the daughters of common people.

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All the living war chiefs and their children and relatives made up the warrior class. Here, again, marriage within the group was demanded. Commoners were free tribesmen who had not acquired status through war or marriage into the two upper classes. Slaves were young women and children captured in raids, or the children of war captives. Slaves performed services for their masters, followed them in war and danced with them during ceremonials. If a slave distinguished himself in war by killing an enemy he could become a free man. It is said that a slave could even become a war chief if he were particularly successful in war. On the other hand, a slave could be sold or killed by his master.

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In war, moiety differences were disregarded and the village acted as a unit. Every large village had a war chief (*shuna'asheti*) who held office both in war and peace and was the head of the warrior class. As an individual he had the highest rank in the village and drank first at all ceremonies. He, too, carried a cow's horn trumpet as a symbol of rank. In addition, he wore a jaguar skin shirt and a head band of parrot feathers.

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[Chaco Period]
[Post Chaco Period]

European origin of this ceremony is obvious. The "caboclos" of the States of Minas Gerais and São Paulo have a pageant which is Portuguese in origin and which represents a peace ceremony between the Portuguese Christians and the Moors, in which kings, princesses, soldiers, and ambassadors are present. Although the Terena no longer remember the origin of the *láia*, certain similarities enable us to say with some assurance that the Terena have incorporated many of the elements of the "congada" into the *láia*.

The really important dance of the Terena at present is the *kóhi-shoti-kipahé*, or "bate-pau." Although this dance can be performed at any time, a special performance is put on during "Indian Day," April 19. The dancers are divided into two groups, one being called "mansa" (tame) and the other, "brava" (wild). The members of each side paint their faces and bodies in a special way. The dancers of one side paint the right arm and shoulder red and the left arm and shoulder white, while the dancers of the other side paint one side white and the other black. Thus, although the moiety organization of the Terena has broken down, the "bate-pau" resembles a moiety dance. The names of the two sides (tame and wild) are Portuguese versions of the names of the moieties. The principal differences between the dance organization and the old moiety organization are that individuals can choose the side on which they wish to dance and that the two groups are headed by dance leaders irrespective of their old moiety membership. In addition to body painting, the dancers wear short skirts made from rhea feathers, a rhea feather diadem, and bangles below the knee.

The music for the dance is provided by two drummers and one or two flute players who stand in front of the dancers while they are performing circles, or march in front of the dancers when they move from one place to another in two parallel lines, each line being led by its dance leader. Each dancer holds a bamboo cane about 4 or 5 feet long in his right hand and has a short bow strapped to his back. A hole is made in the center of the bow in which a small arrow is placed, one end being fastened to the bow string. The bow is used in one of the sequences to make a rhythmic sound.

The "bate-pau" has to be seen and heard to be appreciated. For a month the dancers practice

2:Oberg E-5 (1946-1947)1949 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

[Post Chaco Period]

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apparent. While it is true that the body paintings, the rhea feather skirts and diadems, and the flutes and the bows appear to be of Indian origin, one is nevertheless impressed by the European tempo of the dance rhythm. The drum used [534] is not the skin-covered pot used in the *cháikuchái* but a European-type drum suspended in front by a strap around the neck. The manner in which the sticks are used is European in appearance. There is no singing, so common in Indian dances.

When questioned about the "bate-pau," which, literally, means "beat the stick," the Terena say that it is post-Chaco, in other words, that it was danced only after the Terena settled in their present location in Brazil. They say that it was revealed to one of their shamans in a dream, who then taught the Indians how to dance it. Actually the Brazilian origin of the "bate-pau" is as easy to trace as the origin of the *láia*. In Brazil there is a pageant known as the "mozambique" which is danced by the "caboclos." Like the "congada," it is a reenactment of the historic conflict of Christian and Moor in Portugal. The Terena no doubt observed the "mozambique" while they were working together with the Brazilian "caboclos" on the fazendas and adopted it, adding to it their own body paintings and costumes. The opposition between Christian and Moor fitted into the Terena pattern of moiety opposition in ceremonial activities.

In addition to the dance of the shamans and the "bate-pau," the Terena dance modern dances (polka and one-step) which they have learned while working on the fazendas. A dance is generally held on Saturday night, additional dances being held on saints' days and political holidays. The music is provided by a violinist and an accordion player, the tunes being Paraguayan and [533] Bolivian in origin. The typical Brazilian samba has not diffused this far west as yet.

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Usually a man invites people to a dance at his house and arranges for the music. About 7 or 8 o'clock in the evening the young people wander slowly to the place where the dance will be held, the girls and young men going in separate groups, only married couples going together with their children. The owner of the house places benches outside his house on which the girls sit. A little to one side sit the musicians. Older people squat on the ground, the women hold-

[P. 50-B]

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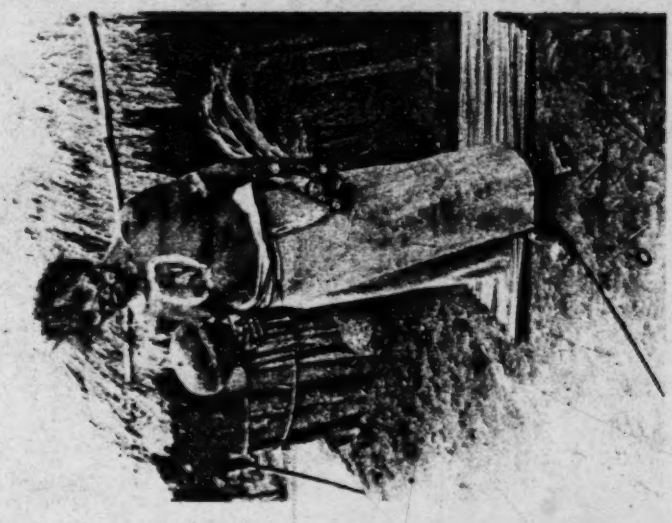

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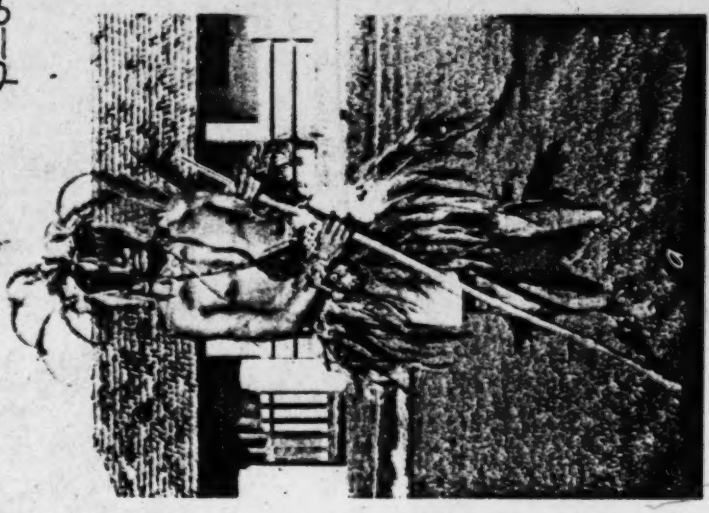

PLATE 8.—Tarena dancer and shaman. a, "Rain-pan" dancer drumming in rites against rain. b, Shaman with half-gourds (rattle) and kŷpuke (rites against rain).

[End Plate 8]

[P. 80]

3:Oliveira--46a E-5,4 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

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Parade of the "Bate-Pau" (Kohixoti-Kipahê) dancers in the aldea streets, with the fife and drum in front. (Cachoeirinha, 1955)

/49 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

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century the old stratification was far less operative. For fuller descriptions of the "Tadique," see Altenfelder, 1949:364-365.

616 535 [526] [178] [114] [534] Already at the time when Rattray-Hay was with the Terêna of Bananal, the Mootó was no longer performed, there remaining only the Kohixoti-kipahé or "bate-pau" dance--as noted by the missionary--and, probably, the Ivuixotevogomoto or "race of the little horses," both dances noted in 1896 by Bach and witnessed by us in Cachoeirinha. The first consisted of a series of evolutions by two groups, "Harará-iti" (red) and "Hononó-iti" (blue), armed with pellet bows and sticks, dancing to the sounds of a small bamboo flute and a drum. (77) The second

77. The dance consists of various movements or scenes, the chief ones being the following: "Isukokoti-kiirí-étakati" (hits the tip of the bamboo), "Isukokoti-kukukê" (hits in the middle), "Isukokoti-dutiku" (hits on the back), "Wokoti" (draws the bow), "Wekooti" (passes under), "Aluókóti" (climbs upon), and "Hiokexoti-pepe-é-ke" (dancing to the drumbeat).

one, looking more like a game than a dance, also consisted in the confrontation of two groups, headed by their caciques, mounted on outlines of horses cut out of leather: the aim was to slip spears through a small ring hanging from a bow. In both dances points were added up, so that it was always possible to know which group was the winner.

3:Oliveira--103c E-54 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
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Gonçalo at "work." (1955)

/89 cont./

582 Marriage. They do not marry relatives, respecting blood. They customarily marry very young, at whatever age, not
881 considering physical development. At the appearance of menstruation, they hold great fiestas, accompanied by drunken-
[352] ness. They seat the young Indian girl in a highly adorned
[302] hammock, almost totally naked; they cover the young girl only with a tanga or julata, painting her body with several
[534] colors. Above her head they hang a bell, which is rung every
[602] minute or so by an elderly female relative; to the right and
[285] left of the girl sit her parents; the other relatives dance and
595 sing around the girl, who fasts the entire day. Polygamy is permitted among these Indians, there being some who have five, eight, and even more wives, and this depends on the
[508] number of sisters that the first wife has. They get married with considerable facility, breaking it off in the same way
595 and then marrying other women. They only have a fiesta at
527 the first marriage; for this the couple gather together the relatives of both contracting parties, inviting them all to a feast and drinks, a fiesta which ends with songs and dances, and lasts two or three days.

764 Death. When an Indian dies all weep, without any dis-
768 tinction of blood relationship. They customarily bury the dead man with everything that he owned in life, and what they cannot bury they divide among themselves; the animals that were owned by the deceased are exchanged for drinks; at the end they set fire to the house where he lived, and their weeping ends only after the complete disappearance of the goods left by the deceased.

765 The relatives observe mourning in the following way: they
[304] cut off their hair, some pluck out their eyelashes and scratch their faces, with the result that they disfigure themselves completely; this mourning is kept up from five to seven moons.
766 When a cacique dies they also bury him with everything he
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/91 cont./

796 of the seven stars; this fiesta lasts seven days. In all the aldeas, in front of each rancho, they build a straw roof with two slopes two meters square and one meter 80 centimeters in height, supported upon six bamboos. Under this roof they fix a forked bamboo stick from which they hang a tuft of feathers and a gourd. They go in large groups from rancho to rancho, and half an hour at a time, singing and making noise with the gourd. On the fourth day, at dawn, they make a great racket with horns, shout, and set off powder; it is an awesome noise, so awesome that even the animals are frightened, accompanying the music with their cries and moans. The fifth day a masked man appears, with a little bag in his hand, acting clownishly and asking for contributions from all for the great banquet which they will all celebrate.

[534] Accompanied by music and by drums and flutes they celebrate the banquet and dances, which end on the seventh day with great libations.

541 Thadique. This is a very crude hand game, which consists of /92/ fisticuffs between men and between women, formed into two large teams which the caciques select, who also later break them up, since after a brief fight they all file off in good harmony.

526 Horse racing. From a piece of hide they make a horse, which they decorate with feathers and little rags, then mounting this horse as on a hobbyhorse. At about 35 meters from the point of departure they place a hoop and in the middle of this they hang a small dead bird, and they have to strike the bird with a small stiff, very sharp-pointed stick. They start off together, running at full tilt, the loser having to pay one bottle of caña, and the winner receiving two bottles of caña. This fiesta generally lasts two to three days and has no set time, being celebrated in each aldea at a different time.

535 Dances. I attended four different dances and all of them
[114] were very harmonious; all of them were accompanied by an
[534] orchestra of drums and flutes.